Otherwise it would be difficult to avoid internal conflicts and to ward off aggression from without.[17]

He was also fully aware of the underlying weakness of Chinese rule in this distant frontier province. In the same memorial he wrote:

> It is a pity that what is called five races in one family [Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Moslems, and Tibetans] has been only nominal and has not become a reality. Chinese officials, without a sense of moral obligation but full of ideas for selfish gain, are rarely talented in administration. There are too many bad officials and too few good ones. This is why there have been more days of trouble and fewer of tranquillity. This is true of all provinces, but it is worse on the frontier. It will be impossible for the Chinese officials to control the Moslems permanently unless administration is greatly improved.[18]

In keeping with the ideas expressed in his own memorial, Yang Tseng-hsin made certain attempts to improve the economic situation in Sinkiang. As early as 1915 he put an end to the monopolization of the trade in silkworm eggs. In Yarkand, Khargalik, Guma Bazar, Khotan, Lob, and Keriya especially Chinese magistrates had been accustomed to import silkworm eggs from Russia and India. These they sold to the peasants, charging over three taels and sometimes as much as five taels for a case of eggs that cost one tael at most.[19]

In 1916, Yang made an attempt to end the special form of *corvée*, known by the Manchu term *wula*, widely prevailing in such frontier provinces as Sikang, Szechuan, Chinghai, and Sinkiang, under which officials and travelers with official authority can requisition food, lodging, and transport. The requisitioning is done through local officials, and is a source of abuse because of the extra requisitioning which the officials exact on their own be-

[17] Tseng Wen-wu, *op. cit.*, p. 599.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 100.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 595–596.

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

half. Yang Tseng-hsin's attempted reform of this *corvée* was ineffective; the practice and the abuses continued.

In the same year Yang embarked on another reform, reducing the rate of interest on loans of grain from the public granaries. The management of granaries in many districts was corrupt. When the official authorized the issue of grain, eight *tou* (about ten pounds) would be entered on the slip as ten *tou;* but when he collected grain in repayment, only ten *tou* would be counted for every twelve *tou* weighed in. Thus what was originally intended as a measure of social welfare and economic stabilization was made to serve the collection of interest at a rate of 50 per cent. To prevent the practice of this form of usury by bureaucrats, Yang ordered the enforcement of standard measurements and the limitation of interest to a standard 10 per cent.

Bureaucrats also engaged in usury by lending to moneylenders. In the Tarim Basin, especially, pawnshops were managed by merchants of several nationalities: Chinese, Uighurs, Indians claiming the protection of the British Consulate General at Kashgar, Tatars who formerly held Tsarist Russian passports, and Tungans or Chinese-speaking Moslems. The rates of interest traditionally charged were 7, 8, and even 10 per cent per month. At the same time there existed government money bureaus which were supposed to charge only 1 per cent per month. Under these conditions, officials found it easy to make low-interest loans not to the poor, but to prosperous and solvent merchants who reloaned the money to pawnbrokers, at not less than 2 per cent per month, who in turn made loans to the poor at much higher rates. In this way the high interest paid by the poorest people paid a profit to the pawnbroker, to the merchant backing the pawnbroker, and to the official who authorized the loan of public money to the merchant. The abuses inherent in the system were made worse by the fact that all too often the rich merchant was the local Beg or District Elder, who could use his official authority, backed by the higher authority of the Chinese magistrate, to enforce the collection of principal and interest. In 1922 Yang Tseng-hsin attempted to end these abuses, first by forbidding the combination of private

1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI 1 Sinkiang AI 1

Pastoral Nomadism

Figures for 1943 show 11,720,000 sheep and goats in Sinkiang, 1,550,000 cattle, 870,000 horses, and 90,000 camels.[1] Most of these are in Jungaria, and most are pastured in steppe land by nomad Kazakhs and Mongols. Smaller numbers are owned in the alpine pastures of the Kirghiz, and others by settled people on the fringes of cultivated land. Sheep, followed by beef cattle and draft cattle, are the most important market animals, and wool and hides are of course also sold. The Chinese provincial authorities like to demand horses from nomads in payment of taxes, which limits the number for sale. Camels are bred both for use by the nomads themselves in their migrations and for sale to Chinese trading caravans.

There are great variations in the techniques of herding animals. Cattle, horses, and camels each prosper best on a different kind of pasture. The best feeding grounds for one kind may lie quite distant from the best range for the other kinds. There are even considerable differences between animals as similar to each other as the yak and the cow, or the sheep and the goat. In the steppe pastures, sheep tend everywhere to prevail as the basic form of property; so much so that the sheep is the unit of exchange value, in terms of which the prices of other kinds of property are quoted. The basic reason for this is that in the steppe environment the grasses which can be eaten by sheep are more numerous and more widely distributed than the preferred feed of any other kind of animal.[2]

By skillful herdsmanship, the different kinds of animals can be maintained in combination. Much depends on the selection of pasture, on deciding how long to remain on a pasture, when to move, and how long to make the marches. Nomads do not break

[1] Chang Chih-yi, unpublished field notes.

[2] A count taken in the steppe area of Tannu-Tuva, where conditions are in general similar to a great part of Jungaria, showed 600 plant varieties, of which cows eat 56, horses 82, but sheep as many as 570.

cut off. A magistrate of former days, who was angrily aroused by the unusual number of crimes in his district, had all the suspected criminals rounded up and then, merely as a precaution, ordered the tendons of their ankles slit. A murderer once was allotted a terrible punishment. Stripped naked under a hot sun, he was thrown to the hard earth of a compound yard and fastened there with wooden pegs driven through his body. His torturers then secured a live rat under an inverted pot on his mid-section, and left him to die while the sun's rays beat down upon him and the rat ate through his abdomen. Almost as horrifying is the case of the Moslem who came upon his wife with her face unveiled talking across the compound wall to a male neighbor. The husband immediately drew his sword and cut off her head. Throwing it over the wall, he told the neighbor that he could thenceforth have her for good.

Political corruption, too, in former days was rife. The tax burden on the common man was unbearable, and officialdom squeezed for selfish gain. Tax methods were irregular and, since they usually varied from locality to locality, systematic check was difficult. On paper an official would report that he was maintaining a strong force of military but, actually pocketing the monetary difference out of his budget, would only keep about him a fraction of the number of troops reported. Nepotism was commonly practiced and, even if the ugly truth concerning some particular instance did come to public attention, usually little was done about it. Since Han Chinese officials were a small minority and since the people whom they were governing were strange in language and customs, native headmen often obtained important intermediate posts by which they, too, kept their pockets illicitly lined.

Out of this paradoxically alluring and yet repellent atmosphere came finally the Sinkiang uprising of the 1930's and the emergence of a young, well-educated Manchurian Chinese leader by the name of Sheng Shih-ts'ai.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

636 brigands who infest Kansu, Szechwan and other western provinces are unknown in Sinkiang, which a European may traverse unescorted and unmolested from end to end. Conditions, indeed, vary in the different districts according to the energy and efficiency of the Magistrate of the time. Like crows round a corpse, thieves flock to a district to which an opium-smoker has been appointed, while they desert that of an energetic "Amban" as rats a sinking ship; but in general it may be said that life is safe everywhere and property as secure as in most European countries. Moreover, to Governor Yang and his subordinates must be given credit for what is probably a higher degree of prosperity and contentment than the country has known, at any rate since ancient times. They do not make the mistake of crippling agriculture by oppression and otherwise killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. They come of a race which has two thousand years of administrative experience behind it, and knows well how to base its power upon the strong rock of agricultural prosperity. Oppression exists, but it is chiefly by Turki minor officials, and the District Magistrate is usually there to appeal to in case of need. The predecessors of these same "Begs" were far more rapacious in the days of Yakub Beg, who was of the same class and type as themselves. Then, there was no appeal. Instances of serious and prolonged oppression by Chinese officials under the present régime are rare. A notable case in our time was that of General Ma Titai, the history of whose crimes and of the doom which avenged them will be found in a later chapter. With the exception of land revenue, the taxation is almost entirely indirect; the incidence of the former is light, even taking into consideration the varying proportions over-collected by the Ambans for their own pockets; while the taxes on internal trade are farmed by Turki contractors who, like the Begs, dare not go too far in the mulcting of their own fellow-countrymen. At any rate, the fact remains that the population is steadily increasing and every year more and more land is being taken into cultivation. We saw the process going on in several of the districts we visited, notably in Maralbashi, Posgam and Karakash.[1] District

[1] Already the Merket subdivision of the Maralbashi district, two marches down-river from Yarkand, is too big to be administered effectively from Maralbashi, and there is talk of its being erected into a separate third-class district, just as was done a few years ago with Posgam when it was separated from Karghalik, a new bazaar built and a third-class magistrate installed.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Magistrates who succeed in bringing a certain area of new land into cultivation—35,000 *mu* or about 6,000 acres, I believe—receive a good mark at headquarters and are singled out for promotion. This results occasionally in money being wasted on canals along which the water will not run—"Amban's Follies" we used to call them—but it meant that ambitious Magistrates encourage the spread of cultivation in every way and see that new settlers are left alone by the tax-gatherer. For three years a settler on new ground pays no revenue, and half-rates for the next three.

It is true that moral and intellectual progress does not exist in Kashgaria. There are no schools except those attached to mosques, at which nothing is taught by the mullas but reading, writing and the Qur'an. By means of a strict censorship not only are books and all written or printed matter dealing with current events kept from the hands of Chinese and Muhammadans alike, but the dissemination in writing of news or of any ideas whatever among the inhabitants is effectually prevented. All this, no doubt, is highly reprehensible from the point of view of the democratic idealist. But after all, if the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the *summum bonum* for any community, as some people are still old-fashioned enough to believe, there is a good deal to be said for it. At any rate, in this twentieth-century world of hustle and the Yellow Press, of merciless competition and all-pervading publicity, one may be forgiven for hoping—selfishly, perhaps—that a corner of the earth may long be spared in which a peaceful, contented, simple, lovable and by no means uncivilized population exists without motor-cars or cinemas, without newspapers or telephones, without broadcasting or advertisements, without a mile of railway or even of metalled road, a land steeped in the Middle Ages, picturesque and quaint almost beyond belief—truly an Arcady of Cathay.

Of our life and work at Kashgar the part that D. and I liked best was the touring, of which we had plenty. Though the trade between India and Chinese Turkistan is strictly limited by the great length and difficulty of the Leh route, the number of Indians connected with it who are permanently or temporarily resident in the oases of the Tarim Basin is surprising. At Yarkand alone there are usually between 100 and 150 Hindu traders, most of them representing firms in one or other of two Punjab towns, Amritsar and Hoshiarpur. Sindhi money-lenders from Shikarpur ply their trade at Yangi

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

CHAPTER XI

THE PEOPLE OF THE HAPPY VALLEY

THE Kirghiz of a valley like Kaying are genuine nomads, for they live almost entirely on their flocks and herds and move their tents from place to place according to the season and the state of the grazing, just as do the Turki and Baluch tribes of Persia and Baluchistan. But whereas the latter cover large areas and have sometimes a hundred miles or more to travel from their summer to their winter grazings, the whole range of the Kaying Kirghiz is but ten miles from end to end. Their *yailāqs* or summer grazing-grounds are at the feet of the glaciers 11,500 to 12,000 feet above the sea; in April and May, and again in October and November, their tents are pitched where we first found them, at 9,000–9,500 feet, in the broadest part of the valley; their *qishlāq* or winter camping-place is at Bash Kupruk on the banks of the Qaratash just below its junction with the Kaying stream, 7,000 feet above the sea. The inhabitants of the adjoining Chopkana and Qaratumush Jilghas have even shorter distances between their summer and winter camping-grounds, seven and five miles respectively. Though no Chinese official ever penetrated these barely-accessible glens, they are effectively under the jurisdiction of the Amban of Yangi Hissar, who exacts revenue through the Beg of the Qaratash Circle, our friend Sabit. The Beg is responsible to the District Magistrate for the collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order; he in his turn relies on the *unbashis* or headmen (literally, heads of ten) of the different glens, himself visiting his circle only once or twice a year.[1]

[1] The four divisions of the Qaratash Circle, together with the (nominal) number of households in each for revenue purposes, are as follows:

Qaratash, i.e. the main valley above the junction of the Chimghan with the main stream, 60 households.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

The Kirghiz of the Kaying valley cultivate only a few acres of barley and eat little bread. Their staple food is milk and its products, *katak* or sour cream and *qurut*, a kind of cheese. In most tents you will also find a cauldron of *mach* brewing, the soup containing flour and milk already mentioned. *Qurut* is made by drying sour cream in goat-skins; the method is to hang the goat-skins full of cream about eight feet from the ground under a piece of cord netting stretched across the top of four posts. The netting keeps off eagles and hawks, while the height from the ground defeats dogs and other animals. When a Kirghiz is to be away from his home for a day or more, he takes with him for food a few balls of *qurut*, and supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he knows where to find on the mountain-side. Bread is made in solid lumps, the only leaven used being sour milk; the poorer families can seldom afford it, fortunately for their digestions. Meat is even more of a luxury; a sheep is only killed on great occasions, when the meat is boiled in large cauldrons, not roasted. Sometimes one of the *mergens* or hunters of the community succeeds in slaying an ibex hind with his ancient matchlock, and then there is great feasting.

A valley like Kaying is almost but not quite self-supporting. Boots, Kashgar cotton cloth, muslin and coloured handkerchiefs for the ladies, knives, etc., are bought by the men on their rare expeditions to Yangi Hissar, or from the itinerant traders from the plains who visit the valley two or three times during the season. The money for these purchases is found by the sale of such surplus local products as remain after the revenue and other demands of the Beg have been satisfied. These products include live stock, raw wool, rope and matting made of camel's or yak's hair, cheese, red fox pelts and ibex

Chimghan, with Tersöze and other side-valleys, 60 households.
Khanterek, i.e. the main valley and its branches below the great gorge, including Kaying, Chopkana, Yapchan, etc., 30 households.
Terek Kichik (among the mountains on the east side of the Qaratash), 100 households.
The assessment of a typical division, the Chimghan, is as follows:
4 *saghins* of cheese, i.e. the output of 4 yaks in a year.
40 camel-hair ropes.
100 *charaks* of barley flour (1 *charak* 20 lbs.).
10 yaks or ponies to be lent for transport purposes whenever required.
Besides the above, the Beg exacts one sheep per household for himself; he receives no pay from the Chinese authorities.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

like they had never seen before. They were particularly impressed by the gold in my teeth; they asked D. about it, evidently thinking it was a kind of ornament. They also asked her what my other wife was like, and whether she never travelled. D. explained that in the West men had only one wife at a time, whereupon they exclaimed "Aren't you lonely?"

In this country nomadic and settled Kirghiz are mixed, not separated by an uninhabited belt and a distinct difference in level, as in the mountains to the south of the Kashgarian plain. Our next camp was at a scattered village of crofts called Pichan; behind it, a line of the curious domed tombs of Kirghiz-land cresting a bluff showed that the settlement was an old one. We made great friends with the enormously fat and jovial Beg of the place, a regular Falstaff. He told us that the little community had been almost ruined three years before, when the disturbances in Semirechia following the introduction of the Soviet régime had resulted in the migration of thousands of families, Sarts and Kirghiz, to Chinese territory. "They brought huge flocks of sheep and goats with them," he said, "which ate up all the grass, so that there was none for the Pichan flocks and they died. Our stock was thus destroyed, and now we can't work it up again because we have no surplus for breeding. But the *Khitai* (Chinese) have not reduced our cattle tax, fixed many years ago at 15 dachins (1½*d.*) per head—they still take fifty taels a year off us, though there are no sheep. But we make no complaint, because though there is a good deal of cultivation we pay no land tax. If we attracted the Amban's attention he might find out about the cultivation, and then we would have to pay both land and cattle tax."

The fat Beg found a congenial spirit in the cheerful Hafiz, with whom he "swapped lies" uproariously far into the night. Next morning as we marched out of Pichan I happened to look round, and there were Hafiz and the Beg riding along arm-in-arm, with broad grins on their faces, each wearing the other's hat. It was one of the funniest sights I have ever seen, Hafiz in the huge black lambskin Kirghiz cap and the Beg with Hafiz' *dopa* perched like a Glengarry on the top of his vast head and face.

There was plenty of good water at Pichan, but at our next halting-place twenty miles farther up among the bare hills at Qizil Eshma, we very nearly had to go without. A family of Kirghiz were encamped at the mouth of a small side-glen apparently just as dry as the main valley. The servants I

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

do those of Qungur. The foot of the Oitagh Glacier is only 8,800 feet above the sea, as against an average of 12,000 feet in the case of the smaller and much less steeply-pitched glaciers of the Qaratash basin. The volume of the Oitagh Glacier is really enormous, but its ice-fall is so steep that the whole glacier is barely 4 miles long. It has several remarkable features. One is its tributary, the Bül Ush, which butts into it from the north-west near its foot, pushing it right across the valley and jamming it against the steep south-western side. A depression about 150 feet deep is thus formed above the bulge, and into this falls the moraine-stream, which travels under the ice for a mile and reappears from a remarkable cave in the black ice of the glacier-foot. Before joining the main glacier, the Bul Ush runs parallel with but about 2,000 feet immediately above it. A series of magnificent water-falls descends from the upper glacier to the lower at this point; one of them is at least 500 feet high and falls clear like the Swiss Staubbach, while another spouts out from a cleft in the cliff like tea from a pot. Yet another feature of the Oitagh glacier is its three parallel lateral moraines, one of which has a double edge with a trough 2–4 feet deep between.

The vegetation of the "alcove" at the head of the Oitagh valley, though of the same Tien Shan type, is altogether richer than that of the Alps of Qungur, doubtless owing to the lower elevation and to the shelter afforded by the tremendous precipices which enclose it on every side but the north-east. We had no rain, but from the appearance of the vegetation, the accounts of the inhabitants and the close proximity of the ice-clad mass of Chakragil I should say that the precipitation is at least as heavy as that of Kaying Bashi. Rowan-trees are more common and have great bunches of berries the size of small cherries: wild currants abound, and the conifers grow more densely if not taller. One fallen giant I measured was 112 feet long.

At the summer grazings the Turki "Taghlik" inhabitants, of Pilal occupy *aq-ois* like the Kirghiz, just as do the Tajiks of Sarikol who are racially totally different from either. They graze all kinds of stock, including yaks, which they breed for the Kashgar meat market, not for riding or milk. The Kashgar military authorities put from 25 to 50 horses out to grass up the valley every summer. The inhabitants of the *jilgha* are assessed for revenue at 500 *charaks* of barley, which can

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

be commuted at 12 tengas (2s.) per *charak*, the market price being 4 tengas.[1]

Talking to the mountain people one occasionally gets amusing little side-lights on the difficulties of house-keeping in an *aq-oi*. Among the woods at Chikir Aghzi we came upon some families striking camp. They said they were moving to an open piece of ground only a mile lower down.

"What is wrong with this camping-ground?" we asked.

"The mice have found us out and eat our bread," was the reply.

"Why don't you keep cats to eat the mice?"

"Because the cats would drink our milk!"

This was unanswerable, as anyone who had seen the interior of an *aq-oi* and its carefully-guarded "dairy" ought to have realized.

We crossed the Arpa Bel on 13th September, after spending the night at a chilly camping-ground above the highest fir-woods on the north-side. On the way up, when I was behind trying to take photographs, D. saw a pretty sight while she was waiting for me to come up. A herd of great shaggy yaks, unattended by any herdsman, came trooping down through the forest to drink at the stream. They came with such a rush, bringing earth and stones with them, that for a moment she thought it was an avalanche. They stood about in the water and on the grassy banks of the torrent, exactly like Highland cattle. They were still there when I came up, but my cortège disturbed them and they bunched together in the stream-bed as if awaiting attack, spoiling the picture. The dust-haze was worse than ever at the top of the pass, which I found to be 13,350 feet above the sea, and nothing whatever was visible of what would have been an unrivalled view. Both from the surveying and from the photographic point of view it was one of the worst pieces of luck I have ever had; for according to the calendar it was, or ought to have been, autumn and the clearest time of the year.

The Arpa Bel is a decidedly stiff pass, 6,000 feet on either side without a break, but although nothing whatever has been done to the track it is not actually dangerous. Still, it was as well that we had hired from the Pilal people fifteen

[1] The object is to encourage cultivation, even in pastoral country, and thus increase the population. Similarly, the Chinese encourage the planting of trees in the plains by collecting the land revenue partly in the form of timber.

563
621 /Oirats/
593 return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all
562 rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.

The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of
563 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority
622 in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

[422] Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are
[233] managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

563 If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away
622 from the family and establish himself independently, he can
591 rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the
233 particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly
622 among his children, with the exception of the eldest son,
233 who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers.
428 A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an
621 economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 If a crime is committed by a member of a particular
628 "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction
[626] of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative.

563 The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes
62 of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals
[65] it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.
[582] The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based
563 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of
628 land from which they choose a part each summer and each
233 winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another,
423 the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen
622
628

S N 563 182 II. Stability of the Societies in the Northwest

It is safe to say that the minorities of Sinkiang, Chinghai and Kansu represent rather unstable societies. This instability has several causes. The first is certainly the fact that the Turks, the Mongols and the Tibetans consider themselves utterly different from the Chinese in regard to race, religion, language, and ethnic grouping; therefore they desire independence and do not want to be ruled by "aliens," which they consider the Chinese to be. The second reason for instability is the progressive settling and colonization by Chinese peasants who cut down the pasture areas of the nomadic Mongols, Turks, and Tibetans, and consequently provoke hatred against themselves. The third reason for the unstable character of the societies of the Northwest was the reckless taxation of the minorities by many Chinese officials who considered their offices in areas like Sinkiang and Chinghai as an opportunity to gain wealth while holding those offices for a limited number of years. In periods of wars, the minorities were subject to merciless requisition of their cattle and agricultural products. In addition to the friction and animosity between the minorities and the Chinese, the disunion among the minorities themselves was at times considerable. As an illustration one might remember that during the uprisings of the Dungans between 1931 and 1936, the Chinese Muslims fought against Turkic Muslims (which supposedly represent a single religious unit), Mongols, Chinese, and White Russians fought against the Chinese Muslims (Dungans) and the Kirghiz and Kazakhs even formed a special unit and fought against both groups or joined one of the two according to the military situation, opportunistically. This period was without doubt the culmination of disunion and confusion among minorities of the Northwest during the last decades.

On the other hand, when a governor who was more interested in the welfare of the country as such than in his own enrichment, like Sheng Si-ts'ai of Sinkiang with a cleaner officialdom, ruled the province, the society gave a more stable impression and the frictions between the various nationalities decreased.

A further reason for the disunion of the society in the Northwest is the incompatibility of various religions, especially the "martial" Islam on the one hand and the more peaceful Buddhism on the other. The Muslims feel superior to any other religious community; the Buddhists (Mongols, Tibetans, Shera Yögurs, Monguors) consider the Muslims as having a barbarian religion; the Chinese, generous and tolerant in regard to religions consider at least Islam to be somewhat inferior to their own multi-religious conceptions and beliefs.

B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR, Social Structure)

563 175 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation. [691] Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa of Ghingis Khan.

563 596 [595] [691] [851] Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal. Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate. The order of precedence among the children depends on the social status of their mothers.

563 428 After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything, including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male line.

563 614 583 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed, especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels, horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 631 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak. In Sinkiang there are two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 565 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society. It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers, warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the second group, and the kara kümüm (plebians) belong to the third group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 565 554 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks: a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the ruling leader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero" etc. The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners [651] pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

S N 563 183 779 431 (651) religious teachings. According to the religious code it is obligatory for a man of means to contribute a certain amount of his wealth to public charity. Next to worship, this is the most important duty in Moslem society. The original idea of helping the poor and needy evolved into a tax (ten per cent on agricultural produce and two and one-half per cent on animals) collected from all believers for religious and public welfare purposes. Another form of alms, the sadaqa, is a voluntary offering. Public welfare supported by the tax, after the collector's fee is deducted, includes freeing slaves, assistance to persons who became indebted for good reason, making holy war to defend the people and the faith, and aiding needy travelers.

S N 563 796 735 During the month of Ramadan (fasting) donations and offerings are collected for public welfare purposes. The amount is not fixed, and the act of giving is voluntary. A sense of public responsibility is strong among these people. Not only do they give regular allowances to the needy in their own communities, but they help needy outsiders of their own faith.

S N 563 788 554 The Hajjis, or those who have completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, are highly respected in the Moslem community, and wear special badges to mark their distinction. The opportunity to journey to Mecca is the dream of all Moslems.

c. Virtue

S N 563 577 779 It is important for the individual to cultivate the true concept of peace and submission. The concept of peace involves such ideals as mutual cooperation and aid among mankind, mutual understanding among religions and peaceful co-existence of nations to achieve world brotherhood. The concept of submission means to submit oneself wholly to Allah and follow his teachings, sacrificing self-interest for the promotion of happiness for mankind.

S N 563 515 Personal cleanliness, both internal and external, is most important. Cleanliness in eating habits and personal hygiene is thought to develop a clean soul, free of evil thoughts and immoral conduct.

d. Racial superiority

S N 563 186 (798) The Chinese Moslems regard themselves as a special group, superior to their Chinese neighbors. As students and officials, their attitude toward respect for the emperor and for Confucius has, in the past, been one of compromise. Compelled by law to conform, they excused themselves on the grounds that they did so outwardly but not in their hearts. The old and the new sects of Chinese Moslems, although bitterly hostile toward each other and at times engaged in armed conflict, on the whole present a united front toward the Chinese and the rest of the world.

C
668 other living materials is limited to those which are "legitimate."
642 Thus landlords cannot legitimately collect rent on land and
421 interest on loans. The legal status of house rent and banks'
C payment of interest on deposit are not yet clarified. The duty of
[651] paying taxes (article 102), the privilege of working hard (article
[461] 91), and the responsibility of offering contributions in labor, money and kind, furnish more means for the Communist government to ensure "the gradual abolition of systems of exploitation and the building of a socialist society." (article 4)

C Late in 1950, the agrarian reform movement began to spread.
668 The movement did not concern itself only with the redistribution
423 of land, but also included the confiscation and redistribution of
422 draft animals, farm implements, grain supplies, and so forth, which was later to be followed by a program of cooperativization. Some excerpts from the Chinese press will illustrate how the agrarian reform was handled in the Northwest.

S The New China News Agency, November 16, 1950, reported:
[668] "The farmers in Sinkiang, including the various minorities, deeply
[421] felt the warmth of the People's Government and the People's Army
• [651] and requested to pay more taxes (in grain).... At the same time, the peasants in various places universally started class struggle against the... criminal landlords."

The same agency, December 7, 1950, reported the start of a
S "Rent Reduction and Down with Local Despots" campaign in the
668 Northwest as a prelude to full scale land reform. From the win-
423 ter of 1950 through the spring of 1951, it was reported that 3017
N hsiang (administrative villages) confiscated more than 1,000,000
*668 mou of land (each mou is ca. 1/6 acre), 30,000 heads of draft
423 animals and more than 200,000 pieces of farm implements in Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia, Chinghai and Sinkiang. By May, 1952, 4364 hsiang in the Northwest had completed 72.6% of the original quota. (NCNA, May 28, 1951). In total, during the winter and spring seasons of 1951 and 1952 more than 20,000,000 mou of land were confiscated in the Northwest. The population who received land and other productive material was from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 people. (Sian Ch'üh-chung Jih-pao, May 5, 1952.)

S Thus Burhan, the Governor of Sinkiang, could report to the
668 Sinkiang Provincial People's Congress on September 20, 1955:
423 "From September, 1952 to the end of 1953, in the agricultural district of Sinkiang we completed the whole program of land reform. We destroyed the landlord class. We abolished feudal land ownership. We confiscated and condemned more than 7,300,000 mou land and other properties to be distributed to 2,100,000 poor farmers with little or no land."

S A report by the Vice Secretary-general of the Communist
[578] party at Aksu, Sinkiang, P'eng I-min, in Sinkiang jih-pao, April 3, 1953, reveals, however, some of the difficulties which the land reform movement encountered in Sinkiang.